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A BOY'S BOOKS, THEN AND NOW.

(1818, 1881.)

It is singular to observe how soon, in a progressive age, and in a progressive region, numerous things become "curiosities," objects, that is, suitable to be placed behind glass in a museum or private cabinet. We gaze with astonishment at the costumes of our grandfathers and grandmothers; at their coats and gowns, their ruffles and furbelows; at their hats, caps, wigs and headgear generally; at their shoe-buckles, their snuff-boxes, their smelling-bottles, their patch-boxes. In the matter of dress, indeed, we gaze with wonderment at what we have worn ourselves, or what our wives, our sisters, or our lady friends have worn a few years back; and we say we must have been insane, and the whole community around us must have been insane, when such articles of attire were deemed beautiful and convenient.

It seems natural enough that the few relics which have come down to us from primæval times should excite interest and be looked at with a certain sense of superiority; as, for example, the tools and domestic utensils of the lacustrine inhabitants of Switzerland and elsewhere; or the arms and ornaments of our fellow men in the bone, stone and bronze periods. But that within the space of our own short lives, objects once most familiar, common-place and indispensable, should become rarities and seem to us odd when we do chance again to see them, is surely very extraordinary. A tinder-box, with its flint and steel, is now a "curiosity." The like is to be said of candlesticks of certain forms, of snuffers, and "lanthorns," and fire-dogs; of the tall case-clock, the bull's-eye watch, the quill pen.

And so, when for some reason, you have to turn over the volumes which have insensibly accumulated in an old family house, or the contents of a library of some standing, how soon you come to strata of fossils! In some such strain, at least, we are probably

ready to speak of long rows of folios, quartos, *et infra*, that meet the eye; although with books, as Milton admonishes us, there is a difference. They are not absolutely dead things, but "do contain a potencie of life in them," to use his own words "to be as active as that soule was whose progeny they are." So that, let its exterior be ever so antiquated, and its interior ever so dry, it is difficult to find a book that is wholly fossil. There are yet subsisting within it particles of a vital force, even as in the seemingly cold ashes of the hearth, you shall sometimes find, if you stir them, a spark or two of live fire.

I have been led to these thoughts, from having had occasion lately to disturb the contents of an out-of-the-way shelf, which I had made a kind of limbo for old School-books and other chance survivors of the period of boyhood and youth. Old friends of this sort, associated with the first awakening of the mind and its earliest growth, we are all of us, I suppose, more or less loth wholly to part with; although, generally, in the lapse of years, most of them pass away out of our sight, dissipated and lost, one scarcely knows how.

Now it had happened that in the receptacle referred to, I had stored away a good many of such waifs and strays of the past, on re-handling which, I found to my surprise and no slight pleasure that not a few among the motley assemblage had begun now to acquire the odour of antiquity and to be entitled to classification under the head of "curious." I have accordingly thought that possibly a brief account of some of them might not be unacceptable. To you perhaps as to me, the objects presented will be as "the distant spires and antique towers" of Eton, seen from "the stately height of Windsor's brow" were to Gray, restorative for a while of the sensation of youth; but far from our review be the morbidness of spirit which marks and surely mars the famous composition of Gray.

I have ventured to name 1818 and 1881 as my Then and Now, partly for the sake of the alliteration, if one may so speak, of the figures; but also because, at the former date, there can be no doubt every thing that was homely and old-fashioned in school-books and juvenile literature was still flourishing in full vigour; whilst, at the same time, it is certain that from that date onward the revolution in matters educational which has landed us where

we are to-day, became more and more perceptible. Further too, I think I have reason to believe that the fascination of books must have begun with oneself about that time, recalling as I can do now, with considerable freshness, the rude wood-cut or copper-plate illustrations, if not the text, of several small tomes which about that time came in my way.

The books in my recent find, then, may, as I hope, assist us in taking stock of scholastic and literary progress amongst us, furnishing for the purpose some material for comparison and contrast. In several instances, too, they may give, incidentally, an idea of what the disadvantages of a young aspirant after knowledge were in this region of Canada some sixty years ago.

I have doubts as to being able to inspire in you the interest which I find enkindled in myself by the some-what unpromising row of volumes before us. But should I succeed in doing so in even a moderate degree I shall be content. If no other result ensue, it may refresh the eye to gaze, for a short while, upon their not forgotten sheepskin and brown calf covers, once smooth and bright, now rubbed and faded; the joints in some cracked; the corners bent and battered; the paper and print made dingy by dust and smoke; the pages at certain difficult places fingered and thumbed, and frayed at the edge; and retaining still the pencilings and pen-scribbles of former possessors.

I would premise also at once that although I have found the collection as a whole such as must now be designated a little antique, if not antiquated, I have not found it, in respect to its contents, in any way despicable. If the books in question now and then shew narrowness, they do but so far reflect the era in which they originated, which was necessarily circumscribed in its view of the sciences and its recognition of the real scope of education. I am pleased to confess that I have discovered in them points of excellence which were veiled from my perception in the days of inexperience. Taken severally, they are most sterling in substance and quite effective so far as they go. Perhaps their chief defects are unattractiveness in form, and a too sternly exacted employment of a language not yet sufficiently understood to be a vehicle of instruction—two particulars that could not fail to be stumbling blocks to the young in the path of learning.

I shall begin with a genuine typical school-book, Lily's Latin

Grammar, a work dating back to the early part of the sixteenth century. King Henry the Eighth, in his zeal for centralization and uniformity made a decree about the year 1543, that Lily's Grammar should be the one universal Latin Grammar for the realm of England; "that so" as the merry old Church historian, Fuller, observes, "youths though changing their schoolmasters, might keep their learning," there having been previously in England, as elsewhere, a great variety of conflicting grammars, which begot confusion and obstructions in the working of schools. Through the prestige thus acquired, Lily's Grammar maintained its ground down to a late period. Even in this section of Canada Lily's Grammar was in vogue during a portion of my boyhood, but it was soon displaced by the Eton Latin Grammar, which itself is an outcome of Lily. In New England, too, it was substantially Lily's Latin system that was introduced by the many learned, not to say pedantic, scholars, such as the Mathers and others, who migrated thither from England; and where it was confirmed and maintained by the usages established at Harvard College, as we may gather from the *Magnalia*, and elsewhere. In Virginia also the same thing took place, through William and Mary College in that quarter, in 1692. The same thing took place in Barbadoes also, and the British West India Islands, at the later period; and in New Zealand, likewise, Australia and Ceylon, and other parts of India in quite recent times, through the emigration to those parts of English University men, and the setting up of schools and colleges, all of them more or less tinctured, in their textbooks and uses, from the scholastic springs and fountains of the old mother-land. So that what Erasmus predicted of Lily's school has curiously come true, principally through his grammar. In a set of Sapphic stanzas composed on the opening of Lily's school in 1512, Erasmus spoke of it as a tree from which would spring a fruitful forest of other trees to the adornment of "the whole Orb of the English world," little realizing indeed at the moment what in the future would be the wide-reaching significance of such an expression. The words of Erasmus were:

"Ludus hic sylvæ pariet futuræ
Semina; hinc dives nemus undequaque
Densius surgens decorabit Anglum
Latius Orbem."

Though bearing the name of Lily, the grammar which is first to engage our attention was in fact the production of several hands. The introductory treatise on the Eight Parts of Speech and their Construction—the *Accidence*, as this part of the grammar is usually called—was by Dean Colet, drawn up by him for the use of St. Paul's school in London, founded by him in 1512. The *Syntax*, which followed the *Accidence*, was by Lily, but revised and improved by Erasmus, to whom Colet sent the manual for examination. Hence it began to be reported at the time that Erasmus was its author. But Erasmus himself set the public right on this point in a letter which was prefixed to an edition of the book in 1515, in which he says that the manual in question was written by Lily at the request of Colet: and he takes occasion to speak of Lily as a man of uncommon knowledge of Latin and Greek, and of admirable skill in the instruction of youth (“*vir utriusque literaturæ haud vulgariter peritus, et mirus rectæ instituendæ pubis artifex.*”)

The ever memorable *Propria quæ maribus* and *As in præsentibus*, Poem on Manners, of which I shall speak in another connection. But the *Quæ genus*, that is, the rules for irregular or heteroclite nouns, were by Dr. Robinson, sometime Dean of Durham; called Robert in some editions, but, more correctly I believe, Thomas in others.

Compiled for the most part in the second decade of the sixteenth century, Lily's Grammar was, as we see, no product of mediævalism: it was in truth one of the lesser outcomes of the renaissance of enlightened learning then in progress throughout Europe. Nevertheless the book has about it some strong mediæval characteristics. Its theory is that the Latin language is still to be deemed a living tongue, and to be made all but vernacular with scholars and teachers. Accordingly after setting forth clearly enough the elements of the language and the construction of its eight parts of speech, in plain English, it repeats the same with amplifications in Latin. At the moment of the appearance of this grammar, the theory that Latin was to be cultivated almost as a vernacular, was beginning to be disregarded; and in the course of a few years it was virtually exploded, in England at least. Nevertheless, the Latin portions of Lily continued to be strongly

insisted on in schools. Like Sir Thomas More, their common friend, Lily, Colet and Erasmus were very enlightened men; but in regard to the enforcement or abandonment of the colloquial use of Latin in schools, they were not at liberty. Its enforcement was, as I suppose, held to be absolutely necessary, so long as at the Universities of the time in England and on the Continent, instruction and ceremony were carried on wholly in Latin, and the medium of inter-communication amongst the "learned" everywhere was Latin. Had it been in the power of Lily and the rest to have encouraged the familiar use of English in schools, to the extent that Roger Ascham, soon afterwards did, and Richard Mulcaster, head master of St. Paul's School, it is curious to speculate as to what would have been the effect of their action on the subsequent history of literature in England. It is certain that much needless toil and torment would have been spared to after generations; and would not perhaps the real import of the Greek and Roman literatures have dawned upon innumerable persons in a shorter space of time and with more intelligence and delight, than has been the case under the system usually pursued, until of late, in the great schools and colleges?

I should have observed before that Lily was the first head master of St. Paul's School, founded, as I have already related, by Colet in 1512; that after taking his degree at Oxford before the close of the fifteenth century, he made a pilgrimage to the East in quest of Greek; that he mastered that language in quite a practical way by studying it in the Island of Rhodes for the space of five years; and lastly, that his name, according to the custom of the period, is spelt in various ways in the early books. It is Lilye and Lilly as well as Lily, so that if we are not content with it in its natural and generally received shape, we can deform it into some other, as uneasy persons from time to time try to persuade us to do on like grounds, with the grand old name of Shakespeare.

I find I have four copies of Lily: one printed at Oxford in the Sheldonian Theatre in 1673; one printed in London in 1713, by Roger Norton, "printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty [Queen Anne], in Latin, Greek and Hebrew;" one printed in London in 1760, by S. Buckley and T. Longman, "printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, in Latin, Greek and Hebrew"

(now George the Third ; but another title page in this volume bears the date 1758, with like appendage to the printers' names ; the monarch then requiring typographical help in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, would be George the Second). And the fourth printed in London so late as 1830, by Longman, Rees, Orme, Browne, Green and Hill, "printers in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, to the Sovereign," now George the Fourth. (The last named copy of Lily is one that has been in actual use in the work of education here in what is now Toronto.) All four editions have a general likeness to each other in the antique character of the type adopted, and the crowded condition of the pages. In the Oxford copy, the definitions and rules throughout the whole of the English portion of the book, are doubtless for supposed greater perspicuity, printed in old English type or black letter. The edition of 1830 is made to be a *facsimile*, as much as possible, of the 1760 and earlier editions ; although improvements have been admitted. The publishers of this edition, in an Advertisement, as it is called, prefixed to the Latin part of the book, inform the reader that "they have purchased from the family of the Nortons, former patentees, the Royal Grant and privilege of printing Lily's Grammar, which from the time it was compiled has, by several kings and queens, successively, been ordered generally to be used in schools ; and therefore they thought it their duty, and interest [too, as they frankly add] to get it revised and improved by a skilful hand, as much as the nature of the book would well admit ; hoping it will have the approbation and encouragement of those gentlemen who have the care and instruction of youth." But, at the same time, the publishers are careful to subjoin : " they have not the least intention to suppress the Common Lily's Grammar in the form it now stands, and to substitute or impose this improved edition in the room of it ; but they will take care," they say, "that the said Common Lily's Grammar now in use, be correctly printed, and will still keep that, as well as this, on sale, leaving it to every gentleman of the profession to make use either of the one or the other, as he shall see fit."

Many among the clergy were, we may be sure, scrupulous as to what Latin grammar they countenanced, when among the inquiries made of them at the periodical Visitations, by Royal authority, was this : whether there be any other grammar taught

in any school within this diocese than that which is set forth by the authority of King Henry the Eighth?

Lily's Grammar had, in fact, acquired a semi-sacred character through the royal sanction. It was seen and acknowledged that progress was taking place in all the sciences, that of language included, and that something should be done to make Lily keep pace with the general advance. But it was with fear and trembling, and only after elaborate apology, that any jot or tittle in the received text was altered. In the edition of 1713, as doubtless in previous editions, as also even in that of 1830, the title page is very like that which is to be seen in small quarto Bibles from the press of the Barkers. The central letter-press is surrounded by a wide wood-cut border, divided into square compartments. In the Bible title page each of these divisions would have in it one of the Evangelists or one of the major or minor Prophets. In the Grammar title page, the corresponding spaces are filled with rudely-executed female figures emblematical of the arts included in the Trivium and Quadrivium of the schoolmen: Grammatica, Rhetorica, Arithmetica, Dialectica, Musica, Geometria, Astronomia; conspicuous over all are the Royal arms in very antique style. (The emblematical figures vary in the editions of Lily before us. In the one of 1712, Musica is seen playing on the virginals or very primitive spinnet, while elsewhere she holds a theorbo or guitar. In every case, Geometria has the distinction of a crown on her head.)

All the editions retain the original "Address to the Reader" at the beginning of the book. A few sentences from this will give us some notion of the aims and methods of the old Grammar School master.

"The first and chiefest point," the writer of the address to the reader says, "is, that the diligent master make not the scholar haste too much, but that he in continuance and diligence of teaching make him to rehearse, so, that while he hath perfectly that which is behind, he suffer him not to go forward; for this posting haste overthroweth and hurteth a great sort of wits, and casts them into amazedness, when they know not how they shall either go forward or backward, but stick fast as one plunged that cannot tell what to do, or which way to turn him; and then the master thinketh the scholar to be a dullard, and the scholar

thinketh the thing to be uneasy and too hard for his wit ; and the one hath an evil opinion of the other, when oftentimes it is neither, but in the kind of teaching. It is profitable, therefore," we are told, "not only that he (the scholar) can orderly decline his noun and his verb, but every way, forward, backward, by cases, by persons, that neither case of noun, nor person of verb, can be required, that he cannot without stop or study tell. And until this time I count not the scholar perfect," the old writer says, "nor ready to go any farther till he hath this already learned." To effect this amount of attainment in a lad "will not be" he thinks, "past a quarter of a year's diligence, or very little more, to a painful and diligent man, if the scholar have a mean wit," *i.e.* average ability. Now then the lad "may go on to the Concords, to know the agreement of parts among themselves, with like way and diligence as is afore described. And when these Concords be well known unto them (an easy and pleasant pain the writer thinks), if the fore grounds be well and thoroughly beaten in, let them not continue in learning of the Rules orderly as they lie in the Syntax, but casually as they may be wanted while reading some pretty book, wherein is contained not only the eloquence of the Tongue, but also a good plain lesson of honesty and godliness. And all the time they be at school, the master should never allow his scholars to be idle, but always occupied in a continual rehearsing and looking back again to those things they have learned, and be more bound to keep well their old than to take forth any new." In this way it is expected that the young scholar, in due time, "shall be brought to a good kind of readiness in Making [*i.e.* Composition], to which if there be adjoined some use of Speaking, he shall be brought past the wearisome bitterness of his Learning. And these Precepts well kept," he finally adds, "will bring a man clean past the use of this Grammar-book and make him as ready as his Book, and so meet to further things, whereof it were out of season to give precepts here."

It is plain that for a certain period of time the perfect master was expected to regard his pupils simply as so many cylinders of yet plastic clay, to be kept turning round and round under his hand, until they should be charactered over with Lily, as fully and indelibly as those curious barrel-shaped bricks from Nineveh

are charactered over with records, which no man can now, with accuracy, interpret. In other words, the perfect master was firmly to hold that the chief end of the young boy's existence was the acquisition of a facility in Latin with the ultimate view of securing through it whatever other knowledge was attainable.

In my Oxford Lily, in addition to the address to the reader, there is a preface of the same drift, but more rhetorical in style. Here is a sentence still laudatory of the one subject which seems to weigh upon the writer's brain. "Grammar," he says, "is the Sacrist that bears the key of knowledge, by whom alone admittance can be had into the Temple of the Muses and treasuries of arts, even whatever can enrich the mind, and raise it from the level of a Barbarian and Idiot to the dignity of an Intelligence." "But this Sacrist," he goes on to say, "is a severe Mistressse, who being once contemned will certainly revenge the injury, it being evident that no person ever yet despised grammar who had not his fault returned upon him." All which, of course, we must undoubtedly acquiesce in, as in the abstract, true. But yet, nevertheless, the experience of later times has again and again proved that the kind of skill in young and old which is here held up to measureless admiration, may be a very one-sided accomplishment, compatible with great ignorance in numerous very important directions ; and that the whole system recommended is particularly liable to degenerate into a sort of mechanical routine on the side of teacher and learner. Under these circumstances it must be confessed that the self-complacent vauntings of our old grammarians on the subject of their special art, tend simply to irritate, and not to convince, the modern mind ; just as unwise exaggerations of other things, true and good, are apt to do likewise.

Where there are special aptitudes for the study and a powerful proclivity to it, Latin will still be acquired in civilized countries, and its literature explored to its extremest limits. There is no symptom of falling off in an intelligent interest in Latin and Greek and Hebrew, in England. The cultivation, however, of each language and of the wide fields of research thrown open by each, is managed now after a mode and in a spirit undreamed of by the old grammar school masters.

In harmony with the high transcendental views of technical grammar entertained by these last named authorities is a certain

emblematical engraving which we shall find at the end of each of the four editions of Lily here before us. This is the ever-memorable whole page representation of the tree of grammatical knowledge, on which I must not fail to dilate a little.

A large apple-tree is seen in the midst of the picture, with umbrageous foliage and a plentiful intermixture of fruit. On several of the branches are lads in coats and small clothes, of the Tudor period, engaged in throwing down apples to companions below, of tenderer years. One is receiving a great satchelful from a friend in the tree, one is seated on the ground amidst books and pippins, thoughtfully masticating a fine specimen, and one is in the act of throwing a billet up at a richly laden bough, with the expectation of bringing down a prize or two for himself. Below is an inscription intended to sooth and encourage the young beginner :

^a Radix Doctrinæ amara, Fructus dulcis.
(Bitter is learning's root, but sweet the fruit).

In the Oxford edition of 1673 this allegorical picture appears beautifully engraved on copper, designed afresh by some good artist, in a spirit quite Hogarthian. The tree of knowledge no longer stands alone ; it grows in the midst of a Paradise of lesser trees. The lads engaged in the apple-gathering are more numerous than in the old woodcut ; and their forms and costumes are more carefully drawn. Two sturdy little fellows are helping a companion to mount one of the lower branches, while one up in the tree reaches down to him a helping hand. As a study of school-custom and dress the picture is noticeable ; one lad, for example, carries his satchel suspended on his back by a strap passing round over the front of his hat, after the manner of the coal-heaver. At the bottom of this engraving are four Latin lines, two of which are the following :

Sæpe ulta est raptos crudelis Betula malos :
Nunc ut devites verbera, carpe Puer.

which may be paraphrased :

Birch oft ensues on apples' rape :
By rape of *these*, boys birch escape,

where we have mention made of an auxiliary on which, I fear, school annals would shew that the masters of old relied for the suc-

cessful inculcation of "grammar," as implicitly as Mahomet and his successors did on the sword for the propagation of the Koran; and that the secret of a great deal of the dexterity in Lily lay here, rather than in the flattering allurements of allegorical pictures rhetorically or materially presented. The Address to the Reader, as we may have noticed, spake not of this dire implement of instruction, unless there be an allusion to it in what the writer says there about the fore-grounds being "well and thoroughly beaten in." But on the wall at one end of the great school-room at Winchester, the Betula or rod was, and is still I presume, visibly depicted, with this standing admonition inscribed under it: *Aut disce, aut discede: manet sors tertia, cædi*; rendered somewhat facetiously—

Study hard, or else be jogging
Or you'll get a plaguey flogging,

which scarcely does justice to the portentous force of *cædi*. If we receive, as we must, the testimony of Erasmus, of Steele in the "Spectator," of Coleridge and of Lamb, the *sors tertia cædi* of schools in the days of yore, was something not to be jocosely slurred over. Steele makes the strange, perhaps vindictive, observation that "it is wholly to this dreadful practice (flogging) that we may attribute a certain hardness and ferocity which some men, though liberally educated, carry about them in their behaviour. To be bred like a gentleman and punished like a malefactor must, as we see it does," Steele says, "produce that illiberal sauciness which we see some times in Men of Letters."

Apropos of old editions of Lily, one would like to have seen that copy of the book which Samuel Pepys speaks of in his diary the 9th of March 1665. In his memorandum of that day he mentions a visit paid by him to Mr. Crumlum, as he phonetically writes, meaning Mr. Cromleholme, his former master at St. Paul's School in London. "Among other discourse," he says "we fell to the old discourse of Paul's Schoole, and he did, on my declaring my value of it, give me one of Lily's Grammars of a very old impression, as it was in the Catholike times, which I shall much set by."

Having thus largely discussed Lily, I need not be so diffuse in my account of the chief scion of his stock, the Eton Latin Grammar. I have not at present any very ancient copy of this book. The oldest one before me is dated so late as 1835. Like

the other copies, however, here present, it has seen *bonâ fide* service in the pioneer work of Canadian education. The Eton Latin Grammar is a simplification of Lily. Superfluous matter is omitted. The Address to the Reader and other prefaces are dropped. The learner is plunged at once in *medias res*. The appearance of the pages is inviting. The type is bold and clear; and crowding is avoided. In many points of view it is an admirable manual; and I know I owe a great deal to it. To this day I find myself falling back on it, as on a syllabus of facts, on numerous occasions. I nevertheless do not suppose that it will ever again dominate, as it has done. The British world is no longer the lotus-eating place that it was. An era of boundless activity and daily-multiplying interests and necessities has dawned upon it, and the time can no longer be spared to move along the lines of Lily and the rest. Moreover, the modern philosophy, which has dared to invade the "secret bowers" and "molest the ancient solitary reign" of Authority in so many quarters, has penetrated the realms even of "Grammar;" and seems likely, as the years roll on, to be opposed more and more to the aims and methods of former days. Yet, no doubt, for a considerable while, there will be a certain percentage of parents and others who will still hold to the opinion that in the acquisition of Latin there is no need at the outset to broach questions as to the general subject; no need to dilate on the place of Latin in the history of human speech; that it is expedient rather to treat Latin as a kind of isolated problem, of which the teacher is to lay down the conditions and laws dogmatically, while the pupil takes them up mechanically by an effort of memory in the language that is being learned; and that to the effecting of this with thoroughness, everything else in the youth's course of study must be subordinated. Wherever such convictions shall continue to predominate, no more excellent manual than the old Eton Latin Grammar can continue to be employed.

The German traveller, J. G. Kohl, in his work entitled "England and Wales," of which the United States edition is dated in 1846, devotes some space to the Eton Latin Grammar. After saying that most of the school-books read at Eton (at that period) are very old, he proceeds: "I bought one of these books, namely, the Eton Latin Grammar. This grammar," he observes, "is a

little curiosity ; and though printed very neatly on elegant paper, I would not willingly exchange for it our rational and modernized grammars. The first division of this Latin Grammar," Kohl goes on to say, "contains the parts of speech with the declensions and conjugations. It is a master-piece of brevity, and all the definitions are extremely laconic. To this part is attached a series of hexameters, twenty closely-printed pages long, in which are sung the rules and exceptions for the genders, the irregular verbs, etc. In our Grammar," Kohl observes, that is, in the German Latin Grammar, "these old-fashioned verses have long ago given way to clear rules in plain prose, addressed rather to the understanding than the memory. The syntax in the Eton Grammar is written, not in the English but in the Latin language. After it, come other rules occupying a full third of the Grammar, on prosody, construction and other matters. . . . It is certain," Kohl then remarks, that "the thorny paths of Latin Grammar might be far more smoothed for the scholars of Eton than they are. But the English maintain that the wonderful old Grammar of theirs lays the foundations of learning more effectually than any modern compilation could ; and the thorns themselves are dear to them, even when they draw blood and leave ineffacable marks behind."

But the specimen of the Grammar which Kohl then presents to his readers is very unfortunately chosen and gives a false impression. "These rules, the syntax rules, etc.," Kohl reports, "are written in English and Latin at the same time, and without any interpunctuation, in the most confused manner. The following is an instance: 'Impersonalia (scilicet verba) impersonal verbs non habent have not nominationem (silicet casum) any nominative enunciatum expressed (silicet in Latin) ut as tædet it wearies me that is I am weary or tired vitæ of life.'" This is wholly unfair to the Eton Grammar, for the matter of which a sample is here given is no part of the Grammar proper, but simply a verbatim translation for the enlightenment of the very young, of what was contained in the text ; and as to the absence of punctuation, it is explained by the fact which Kohl chose so not to notice, that the Latin is printed in Roman type and the English in Italic, other distinction being thus rendered quite unnecessary.

And when he wrote that the rules are *sung* in the Grammar in a series of hexameters, Kohl probably meant to be facetious.

But there can be no doubt that the said hexameters ought to be recited by the scholar trippingly, with due attention to the scansion and elisions. A good deal of elegance is then to be detected in verses that otherwise sound uncouth; and the memory is at the same time greatly assisted.

The Eton Grammars and other school-books shew on their title-page the well-known shield of arms granted to the College more than four centuries ago by Henry VI. of England, whose "holy shade," as Gray speaks, "grateful science still adores" at Eton amidst its "watery glades." In the letters patent dated in 1449, establishing the College, the king expresses the very royal sentiment that, "If men are ennobled on account of ancient hereditary wealth, much more is he to be preferred, and to be styled truly noble, who is rich in the treasures of the sciences and wisdom, and is also found dilligent in his duty towards God." Therefore he proceeds to ennoble his new College at Eton, which he hopes will be the means of training noble characters for the service of the State: he ennobles it by granting it a shield of arms. "We assign it, therefore," the king says, "as arms and ensigns of arms, on a field sable, three fleurs-de-lis, argent; Our design being that our newly-founded College enduring for ages to come, (whose perpetuity we mean to be signified by the stability of the sable colour) is to produce the brightest flowers in every kind of science, redolent to the honour and most divine worship of Almighty God.

. . . To which arms that we may also impart something of Royal nobility, which may declare the work to be truly royal and renowned, we have resolved that portions of the arms which by royal right belong to us in the kingdoms of England and France, be placed in the chief of the shield, party per pale azure, with a Flower of France, and gules with a lion passant, or." Of this shield and its origin all Etonians are proud. It is stamped ungilded on the sober-hued leather covers of many of the older editions of the Grammar, while on the shewy but less durable cloth dress of the late editions it glitters conspicuous in bright gold and beautifully cut. The three flowers on the field sable are now always drawn in accordance with the description to be read in Burke, as "three lilies slipped and leaved," and not as heraldic fleurs-de-lis; the technical fleur-de-lis being properly reserved for Henry's "Flower of France" in the chief of the shield.

(On the title-page of my 1835 edition of the Eton Grammar, a rich wreath of bay—laurea insignis—bursting into flower, surrounds the shield. “Floreat Etona,” the Eton motto, is thus gracefully expressed to the eye.)

The use of the Eton Grammar has generated in the great community of English scholarship a kind of *Unitas Fratrum* or special sodality, who feel their hearts go forth at once towards the man whom they discover to have been indoctrinated in its lore. And as for the Latin quotations which Sir Fraunceys Scrope told Endymion Ferrars were wont formerly to be heard in the House of Commons, though not after the Revolution of 1832, from members with new constituencies—were they not most of them to be found written in the Eton Latin Grammar? And it is highly probable that many more of such flowers of speech from the same quarter would have been household words, had not the extraordinary custom prevailed very generally among teachers and taught, of ignoring all the examples appended to each rule in the Grammar, except the first one. On inspection it will be seen that there are in the Eton Grammar many other convenient expressions and concise moral maxims besides “Ingenuas didicisse,” etc., etc., which from the cause just mentioned did not happen to get current.

This very English admixture of old school-book reminiscence with general thought is observable even in Shakespeare. Witness scenes in the *Merry Wives*, and in *Much Ado* (IV. I.) Benedick’s jest: “How now? Interjections? Why then some be of laughing, as Ah, ha, he.”

I come now to a famous old Scottish classic, Ruddiman’s *Rudiments*. I have two copies of this book; one dated Edinburgh, 1739, “printed and sold by the Author and the Booksellers there;” it is in its eighth edition; the other, dated 1823, also printed at Edinburgh, but now edited by Dr. John Hunter, Professor of Humanity in the University of St. Andrews’, and printed by R. Tullis for Oliver & Boyd and others. On the latter little tome I look with a feeling of reverence, for from its pages I received my first impressions of Latin. Surely *penna*, a pen, Ruddiman’s first example, was the first Latin noun one ever declined, albeit *penna* does not mean a pen at all, but only a quill or feather. Our pronunciation of the Latin which we obtained out

of Ruddiman was that which was usual at the time in Scotland, the *a's* given very broad. Insensibly, even our English, in some points, slightly acquired a Scottish accent, through sympathy with our instructor, the Rev. Dr. John Strachan, whose rich northern Doric can never be forgotten. There was something quite winning in the very title of our Grammar, "Ruddiman's Rudiments," when its happy alliteration was properly brought out in the Aberdonian manner. To this day, when rendered thinly in the Southron style, to me Ruddiman's title loses of its raciness, and is not specially attractive.

The instruction conveyed in this memorable manual is in catechetical form throughout, a dialogue being carried on between Magister and Discipulus, or Master and Scholar, abbreviated into M. and D., or M. and S. The matter on each page is printed in double columns; on the left side it is Latin, on the right side it is English. We learn from the Preface, that with Ruddiman, as with others, trouble had arisen out of the theory that Latin was still to be regarded as a colloquial and all but vernacular speech, although at the moment the spirit of the age was insisting on the contrary practice. By the double column bi-lingual arrangement Ruddiman expected to surmount the difficulty, and to conciliate the favour of each of the two sets of teachers who wrangled over this point in Scotland. "Though the greater part," Ruddiman says, "incline to have the first principles of grammar communicated in a known language, there are not a few, and of these some persons of distinction, who are still for retaining them in Latin, which, though attended at first with more difficulty, makes (in their Judgment) a more lasting Impression on the Mind, and carries the Learner more directly to the habit of speaking Latin, a practice much used in our schools. It appeared next to an impossibility to satisfy so many different opinions. However, the Method I have taken seems to bid fairest for it." He then goes on to tell us that he has also endeavoured to satisfy those who demanded extreme simplicity in an Elementary Grammar, and those who preferred to have illustrative details and lists of exceptions; and this he has done by keeping the purely elementary parts up in the double columns, and placing his supplementary matter in the notes below.

I may add that it was to the English side in each page that our attention was chiefly drawn by Dr. Strachan.

Ruddiman's manual, like the Eton Grammar, is admirable as far as it goes. It is astonishing indeed how much is compressed into a volume of 104 duodecimo pages, notwithstanding the bilingual arrangement and the space taken up by the catechetical form which is adopted.

At the end of both editions of Ruddiman before us is a very comprehensive collection of matter, wholly in Latin, entitled "*Prima Morum et Pietatis Præcepta*," intended, I suppose, partly to be committed to memory, and partly to be used as a praxis in translating, and so on. This portion of the book is paged independently, and in the older copy bears the imprint, "*Edinburgi in Ædibus Tho. Ruddimanni, Anno Domini 1739.*" In the other copy the imprint is "*Cupri Fifanorum*,"—Cupar of Fife. In 1739, Ruddiman was engaged in printing (in association with his brother, a practical printer), publishing, and editing. He had previously been Master of the parish school of Lawrence Kirk. He had likewise been assistant keeper of the Advocates' Library, of which he was afterwards principal keeper, in which office he was succeeded by David Hume. He was also printer to the University of Edinburgh. Strangely, moreover, he acted in the capacity of an auctioneer, especially of books perhaps; as it was through him, we are told, that the sale of Dr. Pitcairne's library to the Czar Peter of Russia was negotiated. Ruddiman died at Edinburgh in 1757, at the ripe age of 83.

Of the "*Prima Morum et Pietatis Præcepta*," I shall have to speak further in another connection.

The Rudiments of Ruddiman were intended to be introductory to a larger treatise by the same learned author. This was entitled "*Grammaticæ Latinæ Institutiones*." I retain two copies of this work. One, the ninth edition, printed at Edinburgh in 1771, "*apud Wal. Ruddiman et Socios*," the successors probably of the original Ruddiman and Brother. The other, the thirteenth edition, printed at Glasgow in 1796, "*in Ædibus Academicis*," by Jacobus Mundell, *Academiae Typographus*. The Edinburgh edition of the "*Institutiones*" is a closely printed duodecimo of 180 pages. The Glasgow edition, being more openly printed, extends to 296 pages. The work is most minute and exhaustive in its discussion of Latin

peculiarities, and is exceedingly interesting. The whole is in Latin, except where, here and there, an English word or expression, the equivalent or translation of an example, appears conspicuous in old English type or black letter. In his "Rudiments" Ruddiman shewed himself, as I thought, progressive; but here in his "Institutiones," he yields not by the breadth of a hair to innovators. Not only is everything in Latin, but everything is brought most laboriously and most ingeniously into the shape of hexameter verse. Even the Syntax and the Prosody, parts left in plain prose in "Lily," are here presented metrically. And this probably is what is implied, when on the title page of the "Institutiones," it is said that the instructions therein conveyed are delivered in a mode easy and adapted to the understanding of boys (*præscriptæ facili et ad Puerorum captum accommodata methodo*). Such was the welcome feat which the learned grammarian flattered himself he had accomplished for the ease and comfort of contemporary youth.

I must transcribe a line or two of Ruddiman's hexameters. They will be found rather difficult to enunciate. Nevertheless, I do not doubt, when they were once "well and thoroughly beaten in," as the old writer in "Lily" speaks, they were indelible and very helpful on certain occasions to the scholar. The pupil is being taught the quantity of the vowel in the increment of certain nouns, thus:—

Prægis vocalem rapit x. Producito rex, lex.
 Ix icis abbreviat, vibex nisi. Cetera produc.
 Præter abax, smilax, Atrax cum dropace et anthrax
 Fax et Atax, climaxque, pinaxque, styraxque, colaxque,
 Quæque phylaxque, coraxque creant, et cum nece rectis,
 Orba suis, vicis atque precis.

Sufficiently harsh sounding; but note the pathos of *orba rectis suis*, bereft of their nominatives. An hexameter, occurring elsewhere previously, is curious as containing, we are told, all the letters of the alphabet:

Gazifrequens Lybicos duxit Karthago triumphos.

The regime of this advanced Scottish Grammar, wherever it prevailed, must have been tremendous. If to the youth of many successive generations the *Propria quæ Maribus* and *As in præ-senti* of the Westminster and Eton books were as whips, the

"Institutiones" of Thomas Ruddiman must have been as scorpions. Nevertheless, we may be sure that in the country of George Buchanan, every jot and tittle of the manual in question was doggedly mastered by many a resolute youngster; and whoever had at his fingers' ends each rule and instance therein supplied could not fail to shew himself, whenever such display was needed, an adroit technical Latin grammarian.

Another fine old Scottish Latin Grammar, to which we were often referred, was Adam's; and of this I am glad to find I have preserved an excellent copy. It is the eleventh edition, and was printed at Edinburgh in 1823 for Bell & Bradfute; sold also by Francis Pillans, Edinburgh. The Preface of the first edition, which is here repeated in the eleventh, is dated 1712. The author was Dr. Alexander Adam, Rector of the High School of Edinburgh, 1771-1809. The well-remembered and widely-used treatise on "Roman Antiquities" was by the same scholar. This grammar is wholly in English, and is a great improvement on Ruddiman in point of arrangement. It is also more scientific, combining the study of English Grammar with the study of the Latin; just as the ancient Romans, Dr. Adam observes, joined the grammar of their own language with that of the Greek. The title of the work indicates Dr. Adam's aim. It is styled "The Principles of Latin and English Grammar, designed to facilitate the study of both languages by connecting them together." "It is particularly necessary in Scotland," Dr. Adam writes in his preface to the fourth edition, 1793, "to pay attention to the English in conjunction with the Latin, as by neglecting it, boys at school learn many improprieties in point of grammar as well as of pronunciation which it is difficult in after life to correct." Dr. Adam strongly condemns the metrical verses of which Ruddiman's book so largely consists, although, in condescension to the prejudices of many of his contemporaries, he gives them all as an appendix to his volume.

His account of the origin of Latin metrical rules is interesting. It is as follows: "Soon after the invention of printing the custom was introduced of expressing the principles of almost every art and science in Latin and Greek verse. The rules of Logic, and even the aphorisms of Hippocrates were taught in this manner. Among the versifiers of Latin Grammar," Dr. Adam proceeds to

say, "Despauter [a Flemish grammarian], and Lily were the most conspicuous. The first complete edition of Despauter's Grammar was printed at Cologne, anno 1522; his Syntax had been published in 1509; Lily was made master of St. Paul's School, in London, by Dr. Colet its founder, anno 1512, so that he was contemporary with Despauter . . . Various attempts were afterwards made by different authors to improve on the plan of Despauter and Lily, but with little success. The truth is," Dr. Adam says, "it seems impracticable to express with sufficient perspicuity the principles of Grammar in Latin verse; and it appears strange that when scholastic jargon is exploded from elementary books on other sciences, it should be retained by public authority, where it ought never to have been admitted, in Latin Grammars for children. But such is the force of habit and attachment to established modes that we go on in the use of them without thinking whether they be founded in reason or not." He then touches on attempts which had been made to versify rules for Latin in vernacular tongues. "The authors of the Port Royal Grammar in France," he says, "judging it as absurd to teach Latin by rules in Latin verse, as Hebrew by rules in Hebrew, composed the rules of Latin Grammar in French verse. Some authors in England, as Clarke, Philips, etc., have imitated their example. But this plan has not in either country been much followed. Nothing can be more uncouth than such versification," Dr. Adam thinks, "so that Latin verses on the whole seem preferable." I shall have occasion later on to give some examples of Latin rules versified in English. As to the statement that versified Latin rules came into vogue after the invention of printing, it must be observed that the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei, a grammar widely in use in the middle of the thirteenth century, was wholly in Latin verse, of the jingling kind called Leonine.

Adam's Grammar supplanted Ruddiman for a time in the High School of Edinburgh; but only for a time. Its author, like real reformers in other directions, had to endure a great fight of afflictions in his attempt to effect so excellent a change. Four of the under masters were recalcitrant, and successfully so, for after repeated applications to the magistrates of Edinburgh, as patrons of the School, they obtained, in 1786, a prohibition of the Rector's book. So true again proved the words of the Address to the Reader in old

Lily, that "everi school-maister liketh that he knoweth, and seeth not the use of that he knoweth not; and therefore judgeth that the most sufficient waie which he seeth to be the readiest meane and perfectest kinde to bring a learner to have a thorough knowledge therein." Nevertheless Adam's Grammar was adopted for purposes of higher education in Latin in numerous schools in Scotland, and subsequently in the United States and Canada.

In the United States in 1836, two professors, Andrews and Stoddard, undertook to remodel Dr. Adam's book, so as to bring it up to the existing standard of classical knowledge. But on close examination they found it expedient, they say in their preface, to depart from their original purpose, and mould the materials which they had gathered, especially from the writings of the German scholars, almost into an independent work. In this production, which after all must be regarded as virtually a reproduction of Adam, we hear no more of Rules in Latin verse. I have the edition of the American work which appeared in 1836; and I have placed by its side the edition of the year 1866, which is stated on the title page to be the 98th.

Bullion's Latin Grammar, dated at Albany Academy, 1841, and in its seventeenth edition in 1847, is another United States work based on Adam.

It should be remembered that at the periods when Ruddiman and Adam flourished, Teutonic philology had not yet assumed the high scientific tone. The Grammar of Gerard John Vossius, a stray copy of which has found its way from some quarter into my collection, might be almost mistaken for Ruddiman's larger book and for the prose parts of Lily, except perhaps for the fewness of the metrical rules to be noticed on its pages (there are a few of them there), and the Dutch words and phrases (many of them curiously English in sound) that appear as translations of examples. I learn from the earliest preface to this work, dated at Utrecht in 1626, that Vossius had done for Holland what the decree of Henry the Eighth had affected for England, namely, cleared it of the pest of conflicting grammars: an exploit which Vossius alludes to as resembling the "Augean labour of Hercules." The States of Holland had first desired the great critic Justus Lipsius to undertake the work; but he declined. The task was then imposed on Vossius. For his countryman, Despau-

ter, of whom we have already heard something, Vossius had a great respect. Despauter, it seems, was blind of one eye, and Vossius said that he saw clearer into the grammatical art with his one eye than all his contemporaries with two.

Gerard John Vossius was a great scholar, and he came to an end not inappropriate. While he was ascending a ladder in his library at Amsterdam in 1649, the ladder broke; an avalanche of volumes descended, and Vossius was found dead on the floor, buried beneath a pyramid of books.

Kendrick's abridgment of Zumpt's Latin Grammar, of which I find I have a copy, appeared in England in 1830. Herein for the first time perhaps, young English lads were introduced to the German method of deducing the rules of the Latin Syntax from the analysis of a proposition into its elements of subject and predicate; and other terms began to be rendered familiar to them, which in sound belonged to logic, as for example, protasis and apodosis, the hypothetical or limiting clause, and the consequent proposition, in a sentence.

My little Valpy's Elements of Latin Grammar I have looked over again with considerable pleasure. It is admirable for its brevity and great precision, and for the excellent clearness of its typography. It is wholly in English, but it deviates not at all from the old lines. Dr. R. Valpy was one of those solid English Latin scholars who fought to the last against the flood which he found rolling in over England from Germany, in philology as in other matters. We can understand the mood of mind in which he roundly asserted in the volume before us, that Johnson's Grammatical Commentaries (Richard Johnson, a once famous school-master at Nottingham, who died in 1720), and Ruddiman's Institutiones, of which we have already heard, are "the two best works on Latin Grammar in this, and perhaps in every other country." (The latter portion of the observation sounds more cis-Atlantic than English.)

The Elementary Grammar of the Latin Language (London, 1847), by Dr. Benjamin Hall Kennedy, which I have placed as a companion to Dr. Valpy's manual, is another very conservative production; exceedingly complete, sound and solid. It goes strongly in for keeping the grammatical rules in Latin, and for making use of metrical memorial lines, but he departs from the

tradition of Ruddiman and Lily, by substituting for the old hexameters rhyming Latin octosyllabics ; which are certainly pleasanter to hear. A class of lads repeating the following, might be supposed to be engaged in the recitation of an old monkish hymn :

(I select at random. I take the lines which relate to nouns defective in Number.)

Singularis numerus—Multis deest nominibus.
 Ut manes, loculi, Penates,—Cumæ, thermæ, nugæ, grates ;
 Arma, viscera, magalia,—Cum deûm festis et Floralia.
 Lectitantibus apparent—Multa quæ plurali carent, etc.

And here is the rule for perfects and supines of verbs ending in co, go, ho, quo.

Co-go, ho-quo, sic declino : Xi perfecto cum supino ;
 Et duco duxi atque ductum, Sugo suxi atque suctum ;
 Rego rexi atque rectum, Veho vexi atque vectum, etc.

To enliven what I fear must be a dry subject "to the general," I give now, as recalled by these octosyllabics, a few English memorial lines in the same metre. I take them from a work which by some means has intruded itself into my group of Grammars. It styles itself "A New and Facetious Introduction to the Latin Tongue," with numerous illustrations, Charles Tilt, Fleet Street, 1840, second edition.

The section in the Prosody on the quantity of final syllables thus begins :

Oh ! Muse, thine aid afford to me ; Inspire my ideality ;
 Thou who benign in days of yore, Did heavenly inspiration pour
 On him who, luckily for us, Sang *Propria quæ maribus* ;
 Teach me to sound on quivering lyre, Prosodial strains in notes of fire ;
 Words' ends shall be my theme sublime, Now first descanted on in rhyme.

He then proceeds to versify numerous rules in prosody : I select again at random, I take what is said, truly enough, about words that end in b, d, t, and c.

Some terminate in b, d, t : All these are short, but those in c
 Form toes—I mean form ends of feet, As long—as long as Oxford Street.
 Though nec and donec, every bard Hath written short as Hanway Yard ;
 Fac, hic and hoc are common, though The ablative is long, you know.

Then in regard to those which end in r, we have the Latin use thus laid down,

If r should chance a word to wind up,
 'Tis short in general, make your mind up.
 But far, lar, nar, and ver and fur,
 Par, compar, impar, dispar, cur,
 As long must needs be cited here,
 With words from Greek that end in er;
 Though 'mong the Latins from this fate are
 These two exempted, pater, mater.
 Short in the final er we state 'em,
 Namely auctoritate vatûm.

Some awkwardnesses might attend the introduction of such rules as these in our schools; and the disciples of Lily pure and simple, or Ruddiman pure and simple, would probably pronounce them not bracing enough for educational purposes. It would be feared too, perhaps, that the impressions left by them might be evanescent; that "lightly come, lightly go," might have to be written of them hereafter. They would, however, certainly have the effect of exciting an abnormal interest in Latin Grammar. And the reason, we know, why so little profit often accrued to lads from their Latin in former days was, that no genuine personal interest in the subject was ever roused and established in their minds.

In the celebrated Port Royal Latin Grammar of France the rules are given in French verse. I cannot give specimens, which would certainly be curious, as my copy of this work is in English, translated by Dr. Nugent, who has not attempted to reproduce the French rhymes. The volume, which circulates as the Grammar of the "Messieurs de Port Royal," was the production of Claude Lancelot, a member of that society of learned recluses. Lancelot was a strong advocate for communicating to the young the facts of Latin grammar in the vernacular tongue; and in regard to his having reduced the rules to French verse he thus speaks: "Therefore still abiding by that principle of common sense, that youth should be taught the rules of Latin in their maternal language, the only one they are acquainted with. . . I have been induced further to think that while I assisted their understandings by rendering things clear and intelligible, at the same time it was incumbent upon me to fix their memories by throwing these rules into verse, to the end they may not have it in their power any longer to alter the words, being tied down to a certain number of syllables of

which those verses are composed, and to the jingle of rhyme, which renders them at the same time more easy and agreeable." Lancelot had found that his pupils, after acquiring the substance of Latin grammar, were apt "to take the liberty of changing the arrangement of words, mistaking a masculine for a feminine or one preterite for another; and thus satisfied with repeating nearly the sense of their rules, they imagined themselves masters thereof upon a single reading." Lancelot modestly says of his Grammar that it is merely a combination of the essential parts of the treatises of Sanctius, a famous Spanish Grammarian, Scioppius, an equally famed Italian one, and Vossius, the Hollander, of whom we have already heard; but his own "Annotations" on each section are the most attractive part of the book, rich in matter, entertaining and instructive; abounding with references to, and occasional corrections of, the older philologists, Donatus, Priscian, Calepinus, Nonius, Alvarez, etc., and apposite quotations, not only from the ordinary classical writers, but from the Vulgate and the Greek and Latin Fathers. The whole work, consisting of two octavo volumes, exhibits at the top of every alternate page the words "New Method" carried forward from the title of the book, which is "A New Method of learning with facility the Latin Tongue," the novelty being the employment of the vernacular instead of Latin. Lancelot closes his "Advertisement" to the Reader in these words, as given by Nugent, whose English since 1772 has become a little antiquated. "As for what regards the present institutions (*i.e.* the contents of the Port Royal Grammar) I believe there are very few but will agree with me, that a great deal of time might be saved by making use of this New Method: and I flatter myself that young beginners at least will be obliged to me for endeavouring to rescue them from the trouble and anxiety of learning Despanter (whose system we have seen was the same as Lily's), for attempting to dispel the obscurity of the present forms of teaching and for enabling them to gather flowers on a spot hitherto overrun with thorns." Claude Lancelot's life extended from 1613 to 1695. Let us do honour to his memory by recording here afresh the rare character given of him by Nugent: "He was naturally of a mild temper, of remarkable simplicity, sincere in his religion, constant in study, fond of retreat, a contemner of glory, fond of peace, and an enemy to all animosities and disputes."

In justice to Lily and the votaries of his system, a favourable testimony which curiously crops up in Borrow's *Lavengro* should not be omitted. In that singular work, the author, after relating that he was compelled in his childhood to learn Lily's Latin Grammar, remarks:—"If I am asked whether I understood anything of what I got by heart, I reply : Never mind ; I understand it all now, and believe that no one ever yet got Lily's Grammar by heart when young who repented of the feat at a mature age." It appears that Borrow's father, an officer in the army, had been induced to insist on the accomplishment of this "feat," by an observation made to him by an old-fashioned Grammar School Master, a clergyman, who for a brief space had been put in charge of George. "Captain," the master had said, "I have a friendship for you, and therefore I wish to give you a piece of advice concerning this son of yours. Listen to me. There is but one good school-book in the world, Lily's Latin Grammar. If you can by any means, fair or foul, induce him to get by heart Lily's Latin Grammar, you may set your heart at rest with respect to him. I myself will be his warrant," he added. "I never yet knew a boy that was induced, by fair means or foul, to learn Lily's Latin Grammar by heart, who did not turn out a man, provided he lived long enough." The year of George Borrow's birth was 1803. What he here tells us of the oracular old gentleman, his quondam instructor, and of himself, illustrates well a fixed idea on the subject of educational method in the minds of very many Englishmen of his period.

The eulogy of Captain Borrow's friend sounds extravagant in our ears. But it must be remembered that within the covers of Lily were included very formal injunctions on other matters besides mere "Grammar" which were as sternly exacted of lads, as memoriter work, as the Syntax itself. It is upon this portion of the contents of Lily and of several of the other old Latin Grammars that I am now about to dilate a little.

I have mentioned more than once Lily's *Carmen de Moribus*, "Song of Manners," which appears in the old Westminster Grammar at the beginning of the Latin portion of the book. This is a code of conduct for the school-boy, consisting of forty-three hexameter and pentameter couplets. The lad is therein enjoined to rise betimes, to make himself clean and tidy, and to go to prayers in the chapel. He is to salute politely the master and his school-

fellows. In school he is to keep his appointed seat, to be attentive to what is dictated, to have ever at hand his scholastic implements or "arms":

Scalpellum, calami, atramentum, charta, libelli.

He is to write fairly and keep his manuscript unblotted. He is to revise often what he has been taught; and he is to put questions about it to his companions and others, and to maintain a wholesome independency of thought:

Sæpe recognoscas tibi lecta, animoque revolas:

Si dubites, nunc hos consule, nunc alios.

Qui dubitat, qui sæpe rogat, mea dicta tenebit.

Is qui nil dubitat, nil capit inde boni.

He is always to speak Latin, but to avoid barbarisms. Virgil, Terence and Cicero are to be his authorities. He is to be persevering:

Nil tam difficile est quod non sollertia vincat.

He is to rule his tongue and eschew frivolity, deception and quarrelsomeness:

Clamor, rixa, joci, mendacia, furta, cachinni,

Sint procul à vobis; Martis et arma procul.

This *Carmen* was mastered and committed to memory just like the rest of the grammar; and it has no doubt in many instances helped to mould character. At the end of the grammar it was duly translated for the benefit of the very young; beginning in this infantile fashion: *Qui mihi* construed: *Carmen* a poem *Guilielmi Lilii* of William Lily *ad discipulos* to his scholars *de moribus* concerning manners. *Puer* child, *qui* who *es* art *mihi discipulos* my scholar, *atque* and *cupis* desirest *doceri* to be taught, *ades* come *huc* hither, *concipe* treasure up *hæ dicta* these sayings *amimo tuo* in your mind. The *Carmen de Moribus* was spoken of as the *Qui mihi*, just as the rules for the formation of verbs and genders of nouns were spoken of as the *As* in *præsenti*, *Propria quæ maribus* and *Quæ genus*, from the initial words, after the ecclesiastical custom of quoting psalms, e.g. *Venite exultemus*, *Deus misereatur*, etc.

The *Carmen* of Lily was inserted by Ruddiman among the *Prima Morum et Pietatis Præcepta* given in his Grammar. It there has the heading *Guilielmi Lilii Monita Pædagogica*. Ruddiman further

gives a *Carmen de Moribus et Civilitate Puerorum*, consisting of sixty couplets, by one Johannes Sulpitius Verulanus. Its drift is the same as that of Lily's piece, and it furnishes us with another picture of school-boy life. Sensible advice as to morals and civility or politeness is offered. The directions enter more into detail than Lily's code does; and we seem to have glimpses of a somewhat coarse condition of things. Monastic schools on the continent are probably in the eye of J. S. V. A lad is cautioned against some objectionable habits thus:

Lingua non rigeat, careant rubigine dentes
 Atque palam pudeat te fricuisse caput,
 Exprimere et pulices, scabeamque urgere nocentem,
 Ne te sordidulum, qui videt ista, vocet.
 Seu spuīs aut mungīs nares, nutasve, memento
 Post tua concussum vertere terga caput, etc. etc.

Propriety of manner at table is largely inculcated. Bad styles of eating and drinking are deprecated. Moderation is preached. It is proper enough to eat to live; but not so, to live to eat. The food is to be disposed of by means of knives, the fingers and the teeth. Spoons apparently are not in use, and certainly not forks. The plates are *quadra*, square trenchers of beechwood.

Te vitare velim, cupidus ne ut lurco, sonoras
 Contractes fauces; mandere rite decet.
 Gausape [table-cloth] non macules, aut pectus; nec tibi mentum
 Stillet; sitque tibi ne manus uncta cave.
 Sæpe ora et digitos mappâ siccabis adeptâ.
 In quadra faciat nec tua palma moram.
 Ne lingas digitos, nec rodas turpiter ossa,
 Ast ea cultello radere rite potes.

Elsewhere the boy is told to "employ three fingers" in eating, and not to take huge bites, nor to aim at doubling the gusto of his pudding by using both sides of his mouth at once; and although the ancients thought fit to lie at their banquets with breast bowed down, he is to sit with neck erect, and let it be left to the dons, the preceptor says, to rest their arms on the board: *you* are only just to touch it with your hands, as you deftly take up or lay down what you require. It is to be observed that unmixed water as a human beverage is not recognized. Wine is the common drink; it is to be moderately taken however, the stock example of old

Cato to the contrary notwithstanding. Three cups are not to be exceeded and the liquor is to be well diluted.

Qui sapit extinguet multo cum fonte Falernum,
Et parco lympham diluet ille mero.
Unum sive duo, in summum tria pocula sumes :
Si hunc numerum excedas jam mihi potus eris.

After drinking, he is to wipe his mouth with a napkin, not with his hand :

Pocula cum sumes tergat tibi mappa labella ;
Si tergas manibus non mihi carus eris.

I take this Johannes Sulpitius Verulanus to be the Sulpitius whose prælections, we are told, Lily attended at Rome after his sojourn in Rhodes ; and at that the Carmen of the one suggested the Carmen of the other.

In Ruddiman the Carmina of Lily and Sulpitius are preceded by the "Sayings of the Seven Wise Men of Greece," as turned into Latin by Erasmus ; not simply one saying from each sage as usually given, but a whole nosegay of terse sayings from each, full of shrewd observation and delivering golden rules of conduct, to be taken of course, all of them, *Christianè*, as the modifying word is, in a parenthesis after one of them, namely that of Pittacus of Mitylene, which bids a man be lord of his wife. This in Ruddiman, reads thus: *Uxori dominare (Christianè)*.

Those who are aware of the department of matter in the old Latin grammars to which I have now been led to refer, will probably expect of me a notice also of the so-called "Moral Distichs of Cato." This manual for the young is not indeed to be seen in Lily ; but it is given at full length in Ruddiman. It was deemed worthy, in the olden time, of being edited, annotated and paraphrased by the greatest scholars. With the version of the Distichs given by Ruddiman, as he himself notes, Joseph Scaliger, Erasmus, Scriverius, Buxhornius and Thomas Robinson, author of the *Quæ* genus have all had something to do. These Moral Distichs were in reality compiled circa A.D. 180, by a certain Roman stoic named Dionysius, or Dionysius Cato. They have been attributed to each of the more celebrated Catos ; to the Elder who lived some two hundred years B.C., because it was reported by Aulus Gellius that he had addressed a Carmen de Moribus to his son ; and to the Younger (Addison's Cato) who lived circa 40 B.C., on

account of his philosophical proclivities. It was however, as is well known, the custom aforetime among professional dialecticians—and this Dionysius was probably nothing more—to compose by way of exercise, and not for any deceptive purpose, dissertations or orations professing to be the missing productions of great authors. Many a fine sentence was thus in after times quoted as Cicero's and Plato's, which Cicero and Plato never penned. And so in regard to the two ancient Roman Catos: numerous sage sayings supposed to carry with them the weight of their great names, especially in the scholastic disputations of former times, were in reality the dicta of Dionysius the stoic sophist or declaimer, drawn from the Book of the Distichs.

He may have thus rhetorically made use of the name of Cato; or that name may have been applied to him by contemporaries on account of the tenor of his work. To call a man a Cato was a common way of saying that he was a censor or very critical personage; as in Juvenal, II. 40, where we have *Tertius è cœlo cecidit Cato*, "A third Cato come down from heaven," somewhat as we say "Another Daniel come to judgment." Although in language *Latinissimus*, as Laurentius Valla testifies, Dionysius was no doubt of Greek origin, a near descendant possibly of a clever immigrant, such as was the "grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes, augur, schœnobates, medicus, magus," all in one, of whom Juvenal also speaks.

I find in my collection a copy of the Distichs which I remember securing long ago as a curiosity. This is the edition of Otto Arntzenius, published at Amsterdam in 1754.

The little manual which, complete, occupies less than twelve duodecimo pages in Ruddiman, here assumes the formidable bulk of an octavo tome of 578 pages, exclusive of the Index Rerum et Verborum of thirty-six pages. Such dimensions are acquired (1) by several dedications, prefaces and preliminary disputations; (2) by the scholia, the annotations, critical observations and various readings of a number of learned men; (3) by two elaborate translations into Greek hexameter verse; one of them by Maximus Planudes, a monk of Constantinople in the 13th century; the other by Joseph Scaliger, circa 1593; (4) by Appendices and an Index Rerum as aforesaid. Now although all this may sound portentous there can be no doubt with any one who has the leisure to look

into the matter, that every scintilla of Otto Arntzenius's volume has a positive interest and value, and will appear to have been quite justly called for.

These supposed Distichs of Cato the Censor were committed to memory by children in the old Grammar-schools from a very early period ; and sometimes were recited by them responsively in Corydon and Thyrsis fashion, by way of amusement. "However," observes Joseph Scaliger in the preface to his Greek translation, "this little manual was composed not for children only, but for mature men as well ; and I have reason to know," he says, "that many grave and learned personages have not been ashamed, even when now quite advanced in years, to learn the Distichs by heart. All this of course," he adds, "the conceited wise-acres of to-day will laugh at." (*Est vero iste Libellus, non solum pueris sed et senioribus factus ; et ego mihi conscius sum, multos gravissimos et doctissimos viros non puduisse, jam provectos ætate, hæc Disticha memoriter discere ; sed hoc ridebunt hodierni dokesisophoi* [would-be wise men]). Corderius, of whose ever-memorable Colloquies I shall have to speak presently, wished to get rid of the Distichs in schools as being, in his judgment, not well adapted to the capacity of the very young, and as exhibiting a tautology of synonymous expressions. He would have been pleased to see them replaced by suitable extracts from Cicero's Epistles ; but there was the old difficulty in the way—the prejudice of schoolmasters. Thus he speaks to his friend Robert Stephens, for whom he edited the "Book of the Distichs" in 1561: "*Ejus usus adeo inveteravit ut etiamsi pro eo et utiliora et ad parvulorum captum magis accommodata proponuntur, vix tamen efficias ut è scholis prorsus extrudatur ; tanta est vis consuetudinis et vetustatis!*" Nevertheless, he adds, he does not say this with an intention of condemning a manual which the most learned men have approved of, amongst them especially the profound and acute Laurentius Valla (*quem doctissimus quisque, et imprimis vir acerrimi judicii Laurentius Valla probaverit*). This Laurentius Valla, the greatest scholar and critic of the period, had, as I have already noted, spoken of our Dionysius Cato as being among the lesser Roman writers *Latinissimus*, on account of the excellence of his Latin.

From an assemblage of maxims inculcating wisdom, fortitude, frugality, friendship and so on, divided into four books, but other-

wise poorly classified, it is difficult to make a selection. Two or three samples however of the *Disticha* must be given. Here are three couplets in which something is finely said of God, of His spirituality and inscrutableness, and of the course which it is most expedient for man therefore to pursue.

Si Deus est animus, nobis ut carmina dicunt,
Hic tibi præcipuè sit purâ mente colendus.

Mitte arcana Dei, cœlumque inquirere quid sit :
Cum sis mortalis, quæ sunt mortalia cura.

Quid Deus intendat, noli perquirere sorte :
Quid statuit de te, sine te deliberat ipse.

These relate to a man's proper estimate of his own ability ; to the advisableness of mingling manual and mental accomplishments, and to the practice of economy.

Quod potes, id tentes, operis ne pondere pressus
Succumbat labor, et frustra tentata relinquis.

Disce aliquid ; nam cum subito fortuna recessit
Ars remanet, vitamque hominis non deserit unquam.

Exerce studium, quamvis præceperis artem :
Ut cura ingenium, sic et manus adjuvat usum.

Utere quæsitis parcè ; cum sumptus abundat
Labitur exiguo quod partum est tempore longo.

Quod vile est carum ; quod carum est vile putato :
Sic tibi nec cupidus, nec avarus habebis ulli.

Here are cautions against wordy persons, and against the lying wonders of the poets or writers of fiction.

Noli tu quædam referenti credere semper :
Exigua his tribuenda fides qui multa toquuntur.

Contra verbosos noli contendere verbis :
Sermo datur cunctis, animi sapientia paucis.

Virtutem primam scis esse, compescere linguam :
Proximus ille Deo qui scit ratione tacere.

Multa legas facito : perlectis negligè multa ;
Nam miranda canunt, sed non credenda poetæ.

Another sample and I have done : it is one which urges a man to do instantly the thing which his conscience or judgment tells him he should do. The second line of the couplet will be recog-

nized as an old acquaintance : we have in it “ the Antiquary Time,” with his forelock set before us :

Rem tibi quam nosis aptam dimittere noli :
Fronte capillata, post est Occasio calva.

The Moral Distichs of Cato, the Sayings of the Seven Wise Men, the Verses of Lily and of John Sulpitius have now disappeared from school grammars, along with matter even more directly and formally didactic, such as, for example, the *Rudimenta Pietatis* and Shorter Latin Catechism of Ruddiman. These summaries and compendiums were all excellent in substance, and were propounded to young lads in the olden time with the very best intentions, and with beneficial results too, in certain cases, as we cannot but believe. But as the years rolled on, is it not to be feared that the blending of such things with purely grammatical matter very sternly inculcated, had with the majority in after life the unfortunate effect of benumbing the mind in respect to moral and religious subjects, and even now and then engendering aversion and hostility to such topics of thought? Information of a distinctively religious kind can now be otherwise acquired with ease, which was not the case when Latin grammars were first compiled for the Public Schools of England and Scotland. Prayers in Latin, and “Graces” before and after meat, in the same tongue, with the *Regimen Mensæ Honorabile* to be seen in Ruddiman, have in like manner and for the same reason disappeared from modern Latin Grammars. We might regret the absence from these manuals of such helps for the building up of young people in Christian faith, did we not know that forms and instruction of the kind referred to are now accessible in plentiful measure and in plain English close by. We are bound to believe that it is in accordance with Providential order that society, Christian and secular, has come to be differently constituted in the nineteenth century to what it was in the sixteenth or eighteenth. We cannot therefore undertake to pronounce it impious, when it comes to pass that now the formal inculcation of Christian ethics and dogma must be taken out of the hands of the secular teacher and placed back again where it was put when the command to “make disciples” of the nations was first issued : namely, in the hands of parents and the official spiritual functionaries of the Christian community. No place of worship is now considered complete which has not its

appendages of school rooms, class-rooms, and lecture-rooms. This is one of the developments of the period. And it is interesting to observe how pastors of Christian flocks are led in the present day as at the beginning of Christianity, to regard children and the growing youth of each sex as an exceedingly important portion of their charge; how they are led to keep in view the young in the preparation and delivery of their public addresses; and furthermore how, in concert with parents and guardians, they have been induced to provide for them, when gathered together in classes for the purpose, more complete and more intelligible courses of instruction than were ever devised before. It is striking also to see how the modern pastor, while not caring to delegate any longer his own self-evident duty, in this regard, to the secular schoolmaster, nevertheless desires to have, and in point of fact, obtains, the skilful co-operation of numerous qualified members of his flock, who assist, under his own eye and direction, in the work of instruction. The modern practice of making Saturday a whole holiday for schools, has helped forward this improvement. Young people can now without scruple be asked to pass several hours of their Sunday in the school or class room, when in addition to innumerable other breaks in the routine of their secular studies, a whole day in each week is set apart for unrestrained physical recreation.

But I hasten to finish this account of the moral and theological matter to be found in our old Latin Grammars. In addition to the versified codes of conduct—the *Carmina* and Distichs of which I have spoken—we have in Ruddiman six and a half closely printed pages of Latin prose, purely dogmatic, comprising what appears to be virtually a version of the Scottish Shorter Catechism with large extracts from the Old and New Testaments, arranged under headings, De Deo, de Creatione, de Lapsu, etc., all expected to be got up as school-tasks; just as I have known in some English Schools the Thirty-nine Articles exacted of boys in the Latin tongue; although I do not remember ever seeing the Thirty-nine Articles included in a Latin Grammar. There is nothing in Lily so formally theological as this. There is simply at the beginning of the book a Latin prayer for the special use of the school-boy, followed immediately by an English translation of the same. A sentence from it in the latter language will indicate to us that it has a little of the ring of the old collect about it: "Beautify by

the light of Thy heavenly grace the towardness of my wit," it teaches the young scholar to say, "the which, with all powers of nature, Thou hast poured into me ; that I may not only understand those things which may effectually bring me to the knowledge of Thee and the Lord Jesus our Saviour, but also with my whole heart and will, continually to follow the same, and receive daily increase, through Thy bountiful goodness towards me, as well in good life as doctrine." I observe in G. J. Vossius's Latin Grammar for Holland a similar prayer for the use of young scholars. It is comprehensive and finely expressed. I venture to transcribe it : "*Oratio Matutina. Omnipotens, sempiterna, misericors Deus, quia nox præterit, pro quâ placide exactâ immortales gratias agimus, et dies illuxit quo Scholasticus labor nobis pueris est iterandus, rogamus ut illustrati Spiritu tuo verâ obedientiâ erga Præceptores, et assiduâ discendi curâ eum transigere possimus, quo de die in diem in bonarum litterarum cursu instituto progrediamur feliciter, simul in pietate et moribus bonis proficientes, idque ad nominis Tui gloriam, Ecclesiæ et Reipublicæ utilitatem. Per Dominum,*" etc. At the end of my Lily of 1712, but not in the other editions of the same work now before me, there are some metrical prayers for boys ; preceded by an exhortation to study from the master, also in verse, wherein the sole end of learning is set forth in this wise :

"—ut Dominum possis cognoscere Christum
 Ingenuas artes discito, parve puer.
 Hoc Illi gratum officium est, hoc gaudet honore ;
 Infantûm fieri notior ore cupit.
 Quare nobiscum studium ad commune venite :
 Ad Christum monstrat nam schola nostra viam.

It was in accordance with this that in the great school-room of St. Paul's School (Lily's) there was to be seen over the head-master's seat up to the time of the great fire of London in 1666, a finely carved figure of a Child-Christ in the attitude of instruction which all the scholars on entering and departing were wont to salute by the recitation of certain verses in Latin ; and underneath this figure was a distich furnished by Erasmus—

Discite me primum, pueri, atque effingite puris
 Moribus ; inde pias addite literulas.

Here probably the solitary hexameter suddenly occurring

towards the end of the Prosody in the Eton Grammar will come back to the recollection of many who are familiar with that manual:

Atque piis cunctis venerandum nomen Iesus.

This is a line borrowed from Lily; and in his day, as well as during many years subsequently, little boys and great ones too, as often as they quoted it, were expected, I doubt not, to make obeisance.

Although the compilers of the Eton Latin Grammar deemed it most fitting to eliminate from that manual the theological element, care was taken that there should be no deficiency in the supply of religious knowledge to the alumni of the Royal College; and that too in the Latin tongue, as ancient custom demanded. Several authorized books were used in this department of instruction, having the double object in view of imparting the proper information and at the same time promoting skill in the Latin language. The titles of four of them are as follows: *Evangelia; sive Excerpta ex Novo Testamento secundum Latinam Seb. Castilionis versionem* (a translation in purely Classical Latin as distinguished from Jerome's and Beza's), in usum Classium inferiorum. *Selectæ è Veteri Testamento Historiæ; ad usum eorum qui Linguae Latinæ Rudimentis imbuuntur. Monita et Præcepta Christiana. De Fide et Officiis Christianorum, excerpta ex Thomæ Burneti et Grotii libellis, in usum Juventutis Christianæ.* The only one of these that I have happened to retain is the last-named, which is a concise and most useful compendium with an excellent syllabus at the beginning of the numerous points treated. As stated on the title page, the matter is chiefly taken from Thomas Burnet's book bearing the same name, with additions here and there from Grotius de Veritate. Apologies, which seem almost unnecessary, are offered in the preface for the non-Ciceronian character of some of the Latin, but the student is told to remember that the matter is here of more importance than the manner: "*non tam verba hic, quàm rem agi.*" I shall quote a passage from the Address to the Reader to shew the strain in which it has been the fashion for divines and others to write, generation after generation, of the condition of things around them, indicating how continually, in the imagination of men, truth and faith are in danger of being extinguished. This little outline of Christian doctrine and practice had been prepared, we are

told, in order that young men might go forth from their early training-place imbued with a just respect for the creed which they profess, and fortified in some degree against the prevailing impiety of the times, when so many, instead of valuing and cultivating the religion of the country, either attack it in a hostile spirit or ignore it; while too few have any satisfactory comprehension of the subject. "Cum tantum abest ut perinde ac de hominum vitâ merita est, laudetur et colatur sacrasancta nostra religio, ut etiam inimice eam nonnulli insectentur, quam plurimi prorsus negligant, paucissimi satis intelligant; non inutilis videtur opera in juventute erudiendâ disciplinæ Christianæ quasi lineamenta quædam tabellâ exhibere; unde Veritatem ejus, naturam et præstantiam intuentes, summâ eam, quâ decet, veneratione adolescentes excipiant; fideque ac moribus ad eam mature compositis, prodeant ex palæstrâ literariâ in grassantem horum temporum impietatem aliquantum præmuniti,"

The edition of the little Eton book now before me, from which I make this extract is dated, A.D. 1779: the words were probably written earlier, as this is an *editio nova*. The memorable declaration in Bishop Butler's "Advertisement" prefixed to the first edition of the "Analogy," in May, 1736, will possibly be recalled: "It has come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious." But, "on the contrary," Butler rejoins, "this much at least will be here [*i.e.* in the "Analogy"] found, not taken for granted, but proved, that it is not, however, so clear a case, that there is nothing in it." Let us hope that the general intelligence of Christian society has advanced since 1736 and 1779. I think the indictment against it, implied in the words of Butler and the Eton writer, would not so readily suggest itself to-day anywhere in the English-speaking portion of the world.

The Eton exercise-books, also, without inculcating dogma, plainly keep an ethical purpose in view. Intended in appearance simply to beget skill in Latin composition, they abound with striking lessons of worldly wisdom; with admirable maxims of prudence, honour, virtue, public spirit and patriotism. "Exempla Moralia" is the title of the principal exercise-book. A pretty complete series of the Eton exercise manuals is in my collection, all of them of rather early date, and very characteristic in their interior

and external aspects. 1. "Exempla Minora ; or New English Examples to be rendered into Latin." Eton : printed by T. Pote, 1794. This book has the Eton shield on the title-page in the style of the last century ; in an oval frame surrounded by palm branches. A memorandum addressed to Mr. Pote, by T. Morell, author of the famous Greek Prosodial Thesaurus, afterwards edited by Bishop Maltby (with fine portraits of author and editor), informs the reader that he had revised the "Exempla Minora" and had taken the liberty to strike out some and insert others, and had adapted the whole to the grammar rules in such a way that "no one example may prevent or anticipate a subsequent rule." This mem. is dated in May, 1759. 2. "Shorter Examples, or Second Book of English Examples to be rendered into Latin." Eton : printed by E. Williams, "successor to Mr. Pote," 1818. The preface to this book tells us that it is "intended by short examples and familiar diction, to accommodate Youth in the more early Day of their Education and by regular gradation lead to the Third Book or larger Work of Exempla Moralia." 3. "Exempla Moralia ; or Third Book of New English Examples to be rendered into Latin." Eton : printed by T. Pote, 1793. This volume shews the Eton shield in an oval frame. From the initials T. M. subjoined to a brief preface, dated 1759, we gather that Morell was the compiler of these examples and that they are "almost all founded on Classical Authorities."

To shew the moral aim of this book, I shall quote rather largely from its contents. From the lesser manuals could be culled any number of passages of like import, only briefer in form and more adapted to the use of the very young. While reading the following, we might imagine them to be fragments of Bacon, or Montaigne or Rochefoucauld :

Dear are parents, children, kinsfolks, friends ; but our country alone contains the affections of all these. What good man therefore could scruple to die, if he can be serviceable to his country ?

As we are happy or miserable, compared with others, so other people are miserable or happy, compared with us.

Such a virtue is it to be silent, that he who understands nothing is deemed wise so long as he holds his peace.

No one thinks that he owes us anything, who hath borrowed our time ; when this is the only thing which even a grateful man cannot repay.

What the vulgar make light and easy by long suffering, the wise man softens to himself by long meditation.

To do all things as under the eye of some good man always present ; and when you have made so great a progress as even to reverence yourself, you may dismiss your tutor.

He that willingly receives a command takes off the severest part of servitude. Not he that is commanded is wretched, but he that does a thing unwillingly.

As for charity, it is never to be expected from a covetous man, who dreads to lessen his own heaps, more then to starve his poor neighbour.

If we consider the excellence and dignity of nature, we shall quickly find how shameful it is to dissolve into a luxurious softness and delicacy ; and how becoming, on the other side, to live frugally, temperately, gravely and soberly.

He is not brave and strenuous, who shuns labour, but he whose mind gathers strength from the difficulties that surround him.

The honour and comfort of parents consist in a numerous offspring which degenerates not from the ancient virtue of the family.

A fool, like a beast, is no sooner provoked but he grows angry ; and which is worse, it appears immediately in his countenance, words and actions ; whereas a prudent man is not unseemingly transported by his passion, but stifles his resentment even of the most reproachful injuries.

It is much more tolerable not to acquire, than to lose ; and therefore you see these men more cheerful, whom fortune never took any notice of, than those whom she hath deserted.

Men in great place are thrice servants : servants to the king ; servants of fame ; and servants of business.

In war it is of more consequence what sort of soldiers you command, than how many.

We should often turn our thoughts upon ourselves, and look into that part of the wallet which men commonly sling behind their backs, that they may not see their own faults.

The life of the retired, indeed, is more easy and more safe ; but the life of those that apply themselves to the affairs of government is more beneficial to mankind, and more conducive to glory and rénown.

Learn to distinguish what nature hath made necessary, and what is superfluous ; what easy laws she hath enacted ; and how grateful and pleasant life may be to those who obey them ; but how severe and intricate to those who rather trust to opinion than to nature.

Exile is terrible to those who, as it were, stint themselves to one dwelling-place ; but not those who look upon the whole globe as one city.

Perfect reason is the proper good of man. Other things are common to him and brute animals. Is he strong? So are lions. Is he beautiful? So is the peacock. Is he swift? So are horses.

The mind attains not virtue but by instruction and continued exercise ; to this indeed we are born ; and in the best of men, without study and application, there is the ground of virtue, but not virtue itself.

Whatever is probable in appearance, though not altogether certain, yet if nothing offers to destroy that probability, the wise man will take up with it ; and this is sufficient for the whole conduct of life.

Some studies are called liberal, because they are worthy of a man who is free-

born ; but there is only one study that is truly liberal, the study of wisdom, sublime, strong and magnanimous ; all others are trifling and puerile.

They who have nothing else but the images of their ancestors are noble in opinion more truly than in fact ; but he that is endued with virtue has true and genuine nobility.

We cannot otherwise conceive of God than as a Spirit, absolute, free, perceiving and moving all things, and endued Himself with everlasting motion.

Of all gainful professions, nothing is better, nothing more delightful, nothing more worthy a man, even a gentleman, than agriculture.

Praise not thyself, which is both indecent and imprudent ; but take care to do praiseworthy things, which will force commendation even from strangers.

To preserve health we must use moderate exercise, and so much meat and drink as may repair the strength and not oppress it ; but we must not support the body alone, but the mind and spirits also ; for these are extinguished by old age, like a lamp when it is not supplied with oil.

As he is a fool who when he is going to buy a horse inspects only the bridle and saddle ; so is he most foolish who esteems a man from his dress or condition, which is a sort of dress.

If it happens to any to be gently dismissed by old age, not suddenly torn from life, but gradually stolen away ; has he not reason to thank God that being full of days and infirmity, he now retires to rest, so necessary to man, so grateful to the weary.

I could easily have filled many more pages with maxims and observations such as these, inculcating manliness, truthfulness, a sense of honour, a feeling of moral obligation, and à hundred other estimable virtues and habits. Young minds during their most plastic period, employed for a series of years in the careful manipulation of aphorisms and sentiments, such as those of which I have given specimens, could not fail in numerous instances to be affected and moulded thereby. At the same time, countless other ennobling, formative forces were brought to bear upon these young minds ; for example, a full staff of skilled instructors, themselves strongly charged with the Eton lore, and the very genius of the place, walls, quadrangles, play-fields, teeming with memories and traditions of eminent men subjected in their day to the Eton discipline. Can we wonder at the strong hold on the esteem and love of Englishmen which Eton has acquired ; poets, divines, warriors, jurists, statesmen, from Fox and Canning and Wellesley to the late Earl of Derby and Gladstone ?

PHÆDRUS, PUBLIUS SYRUS, ETC.

Another *vade-mecum* of practical wisdom and morals for the Eton school-boy was the "Phædrus" used in the junior forms.

My copy bears the late date of 1824, but it represents much earlier impressions of the same book. It is stated in the title-page to be *editio altera, castigata, et prioribus correctior*. The peculiarity of this Eton "Phædrus" is that it has a proverbial heading prefixed to each fable, indicative of the drift of the coming story; and these headings are collected together at the beginning of the volume as a set of mottoes, with a free English rendering of each, generally in the form of a familiar proverb. We have thus placed before us a bouquet of popular aphorisms such as would have been satisfactory to "Sancho Panza" or John Bunyan, and which, I doubt not, have often been selected from by the Eton tyro for the enrichment of a "theme." "Save a thief from the gallows and he'll cut your throat" heads fable 8, book i., "The Wolf and the Crane," as the translation of "Malos tueri, haud tutum." "Brag is a good dog, but Holdfast is better" heads fable 21, book iv. "The Mountain in Labour," as the translation of "Magna ne jactes, sed præsta," etc., etc. In my other old copy of "Phædrus," Amsterdam, 1667, with a quaint copperplate illustration to each fable, the Eton headings do not occur. Johannes Laurentius, the editor, is content with the "moral" prefixed or appended to each fable in the original. He has, however, with his notes and observations, contrived to expand "Phædrus" into an octavo of 462 pages, plus 200 pages of index-matter.

Following the fables in the Eton "Phædrus" are to be seen the notable "Sententiæ" of Publius Syrus. These consist of a selection of Gnostic lines, chiefly in Senarian iambic verse, taken from the common-place book of a famous satirical mimic or improvisatore at Rome, *temp.* Julius Cæsar—Publius Syrus. They are alphabetically arranged in groups, the lines in each group beginning with the same letter, like the sections of the 119th Psalm in the Hebrew. They contain shrewd reflections on the various relations and situations and experiences in human life. Strangely, in modern times with us English, the interest in Publius Syrus is chiefly, if not wholly, maintained by the quotation from his "Sentences" to be seen on the title-page of each volume of the *Edinburgh Review*. It is found in the "I" or "J" group: "Judex damnatur, cum nocens absolvitur." Sydney Smith informs us that he had ventured to suggest an excerpt from Virgil instead: "Tenui musam meditamur avena"—We cultivate literature on a

little oatmeal ; but this was too near the truth to be admitted, he says of himself and his friends Brougham and Jeffrey, at the moment when, in 1802, in the ninth flat of Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh, they were concocting their scheme of a new periodical : " So we took our present grave motto from Publius Syrus, of whom," he remarks, " none of us, I am sure, had read a single line." It is probable, however, that the " Sententiæ " of Publius Syrus were as well known at Winchester, where Sydney Smith had been trained, as they were at Eton.

It may be added that although the " Sententiæ " of Publius Syrus are generally unknown to moderns, many of them have virtually become familiar through other channels. Thus, his caution, " *Laus nova nisi oritur, etiam vetus amittitur*," is transmitted to us in Shakspeare's " Persever'rance, dear my lord, keeps honour bright : to have done, is to hang quite out of fashion, like a rusty mail in monumental mockery ;" his maxim, " *Diu apparandum est bellum, ut vincas celerius*" is embodied in *dicta* of Napoleon and Wellington to the same effect ; his doctrine, " *Discipulus est prioris posterior dies*" is heard in Tennyson's " I, the heir of all the ages," etc.

According to the old " *Consuetudinarium*," or Custom-book, well known at Eton, dating back to 1560, a collection of apophthegms by Sir Thomas More, and the " *Introductio ad Veram Sapientiam*" of Ludovicus Vives, were read as lesson-books there, in addition to the " *Distichs*" of Dionysius Cato, of which we have now doubtless heard enough. I content myself with a brief sample of Vives, who was a Spaniard, at one time preceptor to the Princess Mary, afterwards Queen, taken from my little copy of the " *Introductio*," which, by the way, was once the property of Basil Montagu, the editor of " *Bacon*," and contains his autograph. " *Gloria crocodilus*," Vives says : *i.e.*, Fame is like a crocodile. He then tells the reader why, thus : " *Crocodilus animal est in Nilo, cujus hanc ferunt naturam, ut persequentes fugiat, fugientes persequatur. Sic gloria quærentes fugit, negligentes sequitur.*" I have no example of the manuals in use at Eton during the provostship of Sir Henry Wotton (1624), but I do not doubt he took care that they should be pregnant with wit and wisdom, as well as replete with rules for good latinity. Isaac Walton tells us in his life of Sir Henry, that when surrounded by his pupils, " he would often

make choyce of observations out of the historians and poets; and that he never departed out of the school "without dropping some choyce Greek or Latin apophthegme or sentence, such as were worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar." It was this Sir Henry Wotton who once humorously defined ambassadors (he had himself been one from England to the Venetian Republic) as persons "whose duty it was to lie abroad for the benefit of their masters at home," playing on the double sense of the English word *lie*, a jest which brought him into some trouble. Sir Henry Wotton so prided himself on having formulated the dictum, "*Disputandi pruritus fit Ecclesiarum scabies*," that he ordered it to be inscribed on his tomb. I shew an old copy of Sir Henry's remains, "*Reliquæ Wottonianæ*." It is to be regretted that the essay in it, entitled "*A Philosophicall Surveigh of Education, or Moral Architecture*," proves to be only a fragment of an intended work. Posterity would have been gratified had a complete treatise come down to it from Sir Henry Wotton justifying the above title.

Bound up with my Eton "*Phædrus*" is the twelfth edition (1819) of "*Morgan's Grammaticæ Quæstiones*, adapted to the Eton Latin Grammar," "humbly offered to the Public as being the most effectual way of laying a sound Classical Foundation; and obviating the many inconveniences arising from a superficial knowledge of Grammar." The book is humbly offered; but Mr. Morgan had grand ideas. The Preface is in the customary exaggerated strain of which specimens have been given before, characteristic of the pre-scientific period in England. It pronounces a "*Classical Education*," *i.e.*, faultless drill in the Eton Latin Grammar, to be, "next to the duties of Religion, one of the most important objects in human life, particularly to those who are expected to fill the higher ranks of society." Hence Mr. Morgan presumes "any work which may contribute even in a subordinate degree to so important and laudable a design, will meet with a favourable reception from every description of men—of those who are sensible of the blessings of a liberal education as well as those who are unhappily conscious of the want of it." His plan is simply to break up the whole of the Eton Latin Grammar into short questions and answers, which he does quite lucidly, just as we might suppose any sensible teacher would do of his own accord, without

requiring any suggestions *ab extra*. "This method," the writer observes, "obliges children to use their reasoning powers, and leads them pleasantly on to the pursuit of real fundamental knowledge, instead of labouring merely at the reputation of rules and scientific terms whose meaning and application they must, without such a method, long continue ignorant of." For it is known, he had previously observed that "the generality of boys not only learn the grammar by rote, but learn even to apply the rules mechanically, without descending into the meaning and intent of them." His style of questioning is very mild: "Say the present tense of *volo* with its English. Has it any gerunds? Say them. How do verbs in *lo* form the preterperfect tense? Are there not some exceptions?" etc. He grants that there are slips in the text-book on which he is engaged, but he adds: "The reader's own observation will supply every defect in the *As in præsentî*, which with all its imperfections must be a very ingenious performance." Mr. Morgan magnified his office and worked at his specialty to some purpose, as we may gather from the appendages to his name on his title page: "Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; Prebendary of Wells; Rector of Dean, Northamptonshire, and of Charlcomb, Somersetshire; and Master of the Grammar School in the city of Bath." Another little school manual is bound up with my "Phædrus," "The Book of Cautions for Rendering English into Latin." This is without date; but I have another copy of the same work, separate, dated 1792, and printed by T. Pote. One more elementary Eton book of great repute, allied in subject to those just noticed, I am bound not to omit, having retained a copy, and this is "Wilymott's Peculiar Use and Signification of Certain Words in the Latin Tongue," printed by T. Pote, Eton, 1790, and then in the eighth edition. This is a useful alphabetical list of Latin words, with observations in English on each, wherein their elegant and commonly unobserved sense is fully and distinctly explained." The author, William Wilymott, D.D., was also, like Mr. Morgan, a "Fellow of King's College in Cambridge." This King's College, Cambridge, founded in 1441 by Henry VI. of England, is a splendid preserve, existing for the special and exclusive benefit of well-drilled youths coming from Eton. Up to 1851, the students of this College were, by charter, exempted from the usual public exercises in the "Schools" of the University, and were not in any way ex-

amined for their Bachelor of Arts' degree. It could not be otherwise but that the "men" of the sixteen other colleges in the University should sometimes gaze with envious eye on the "men" of King's, especially, for example, when seen occupying their "stalls" of a Sunday, along the two sides of their magnificent chapel, unique in Europe for its beauty, a miracle of architecture, three hundred and sixteen feet in length and eighty-four in width. In 1851, however, King's College magnanimously surrendered its exclusive privileges; and now the *élèves* of that society go into the general examinations and take their chance with the rest of the students of Cambridge.

I find by the side of Willymott's book one similar, but superior to it, dated 1753, on the "Westminster Latin Grammar," by Charles Davies, B.A., "for the use of those schools (publick and private) where that Grammar is taught, particularly of the Lower Forms of Westminster School; and for the Ease and Benefit of Master and Scholar." I notice this manual for the sake of the Dedication prefixed to it. The Earl of Orrery, the patron addressed therein, is curiously told that the work is inscribed to him because the writer had observed in one of his Lordship's "most excellent Letters of Remarks upon the Life and Writings of the inimitable Dr. Swift, that he heartily wished his son, Mr. Hamilton Boyle, would think an attention to his native language as useful and improving a study as any that can be pursued." Therefore Mr. Davies presents a catechism on Latin Grammar, designed, he asserts, "for the benefit of the youth of the English nation in general, and, could he presume to say so, for the Royal Youths at the head of them, in particular." The dedication then proceeds and concludes in courtly strain thus: "To offer anything relating to Grammar to your Lordship, who shines so conspicuously in the higher orbs of Learning, will, I fear, be looked upon as quite out of character; but as Grammar is the foundation of all Learning, I hope that circumstance will, in some measure, plead my excuse for giving your Lordship this trouble. Besides, under favour, where shall an attempt for making Learning more easy and useful, hope for patronage but amongst the Learned; and where amongst the Learned, if not in an ORRERY?" In the Preface again the assertion is repeated that Latin Grammar is "the foundation of speaking, reading, writing, and conversing in the English tongue"

—another instance of the overweening self-complacency of the Grammar schoolmaster of the period in regard to the one subject embraced in his curriculum.

CORDERIUS, ETC.

The aim of the old teachers of Latin was the familiar colloquial employment of that language by the young; and the desired result was, I suppose, actually attained in some schools aforesaid in Scotland, England and Ireland. But as the utter uselessness of the accomplishment when secured, except as a mere amusement, was manifest in the vast majority of cases, the effort in this direction was more and more relaxed, and the attention of teachers for the most part became confined simply to the production of facility in the employment of grammatical forms. In numerous schools on the continent of Europe the practice of speaking Latin after a fashion is still maintained. The famous *Colloquies* of Corderius, familiar to everyone, at least by name, were constructed for the purpose of cultivating the common use of Latin. They consist of dialogues supposed to be carried on between lads at school; sometimes between a master and his scholars. The talk turns, of course, on ordinary school matters, and occasionally on domestic arrangements; and we get in them momentary glimpses of contemporary home life in France. Corderius is the Latinized form of the French proper name Cordier. His name in full, unlatinized, was Mathurin Cordier. He lived from 1479 to 1564. He was once employed as an instructor in the *College de la Marche*, at Paris, and one of his pupils there was no less a personage than John Calvin, who afterwards sought to express his sense of gratitude to his former teacher by dedicating to him, in dignified Latin, his *Commentary on the two Epistles to the Thessalonians*. I remember well being drilled in Corderius by Mr. Armour, in the Home District Grammar School here in Toronto, many years ago; and of all our manuals, it was the first, I think, to awaken in one's childish mind some actual interest in the Latin language.

The interlocutors in the *Colloquies* bear such names as Durandus, Genasius, Sandrotus, Orosius, Soterius, Myconius, Clemens, Felix, Audax, etc. Corderius translated into French the *Moral Distichs of Cato*: "*Les Distiques Latins qu'on attribue à Caton.*" In the *Colloquies*, accordingly, we have repeated allusions to Cato,

meaning Dionysius Cato. Thus, in a dialogue between Arnoldus and Besonius, one asks the other: "Quid est stultitia?" and the other replies: "Si Catonem diligenter evolvas, invenies istud quod quæris." In another between Velusatus and Stephanus, we have Stephanus saying: "Anno superiori, in Catone didici: Retine spem; spes una non relinquet hominem morte;" and Velusatus replying: "Fecisti bene quod retinueris, nam egregia est sententia, et digna homine Christiano." In another dialogue one remarks: "Non est serviendum voluptati, sed consulendum est valetudini;" and the other answers: "Memini carmen Catonis in eam sententiam." In one colloquy between Paulus and Timotheus, a contest is proposed, to recite responsively all the lines contained in a book of Cato, somewhat after the fashion of rival shepherds in a pastoral of Virgil. An umpire, named Solomon, is chosen to judge between them. "Quid estis dicturi?" Solomon inquires. "Tertium librum Moraliū Distichorum," Timotheus replies. Solomon rejoins: "Nonne dicetis alterni?" and T. answers, "Scilicet: uterque suum distichum. Incipiamne?" asks T., to which the reply from P. is: "Æquum est, quia tu revocatus à me."

I seem to have preserved two copies of "Corderius:" one, the edition of Samuel Loggon, dated in 1830, but then issued for the twenty-first time; the other, that of John Clarke, dated 1818, but first published some years previously. Loggon sets forth on his title-page that his edition is "better adapted to the capacities of youth, and fitter for beginners in the Latin tongue than any edition of the 'Colloquies,' or any other book yet published." The method in Clarke's book is to place a rather free translation in a column by the side of the text in each page. To this Loggon objects that "as the Latin and English are both in one page, I think they (that is, Clarke's books generally, for he had published 'Suetonius' and other authors in a similar way) are not proper for schools; nay, almost as improper as if published with interlinear versions, which method of printing books for schools Mr. Clarke himself objects against. Where the English and Latin are both on the same page (one remarks, whom Loggon quotes), it cannot be well known whether the scholar has been diligent in getting his lesson, or has been idle, the English construing being before his eyes while he is saying the lesson to the master. To which I shall add (Loggon himself with considerable *naïveté*

observes) that my experience shews us that little boys have artful cunning enough to cheat themselves and their master, when they have so fair an opportunity to do it." From Clarke's preface I extract a passage or two with which no one can help sympathizing, though happily not so applicable to schools in our day as they were in 1818, the date of the "Corderius" before us: "The little progress made in our schools," says Mr. Clarke in 1818, or earlier, "the first four or five years which boys spend there, is really amazing, and would naturally tempt a person of any reflection to suspect there must be some very great flaw, some notorious mismanagement, in the common method of proceeding. How else comes it to pass that the French tongue is attained to a good degree of perfection in half the time which is spent in the Latin tongue to no manner of purpose? . . . A boy shall be brought in two years to read and speak the French well; whereas, in double time or more, spent at a Grammar School, he shall be so far from talking and writing Latin, that he shall not be able to read half-a-dozen lines in the easiest classic author you can put into his hands. . . . I know not how it is," proceeds Mr. Clarke; "we have blundered on in such a way of teaching the Latin tongue, as proves a very great misfortune to all boys, on account of that prodigious loss of time it occasions, but especially to such as are not designed for the University, and therefore cannot stay long enough at school to attain to the reading of a Latin author, in that tedious, lingering way of proceeding observed in our schools. The six or seven years they frequently spend there is time absolutely thrown away, since almost double the space is necessary for the attainment in the common method of proceeding." The orthodox Grammar School Master will of course stand aghast, or profess to do so, at the remedy which Mr. Clarke proposes for the evils complained of, although, I fancy, students very generally take the law into their own hands and have recourse to it: as witness the success of Bohn's Classical Library and numerous respectable publications of the same class. "Translations, therefore," Mr. Clarke finally exclaims, "translations, I say, as literal as possible (and presented as in his "Corderius" or "Suetonius," on each page side by side with the text), are absolutely and indispensably necessary in our schools for the ease both of master and scholar, and the speedy progress of the latter in his business; for

while the boys have their words all ready at hand, and can, with a cast of their eye, set themselves a-going when they are at a stop, they will proceed with ease and delight, and make a much quicker progress than they would otherwise do." He then proceeds to cite John Locke as agreeing with his views in this regard; "who was a gentleman," he says, "of too much sagacity not to take notice of this defect in the vulgar method." I have another specimen of Mr. Clarke's labours—his "*Lives of the First Twelve Cæsars*," by Suetonius, an interesting book intended for maturer minds than those which would be attracted by his "*Corderius*." My copy of Locke's "*Thoughts Concerning Education*," dated 1806, has a beautiful frontispiece by Uwins, shewing a mother instructing a child, possibly in Latin, in accordance with an idea thrown out by Locke at page 212, where he says: "Whatever stir there is made about getting of Latin as the great and difficult business, a child's mother may teach it him herself, if she will but spend two or three hours in a day with him, and make him read the Evangelists in Latin to her; for she need but buy a Latin Testament, and having got some body to mark the last syllable but one where it is long, in words above two syllables (which is enough to regulate her pronunciation and accenting the words), read daily in the Gospels; and then let her avoid understanding them in Latin if she can. And when she understands the Evangelists in Latin, let her in the same manner read '*Æsop's Fables*,'" Locke directs, "and so proceed on to '*Eutropius*,' '*Justin*,' and other such books." And then, to shew that he is not proposing anything Quixotic or Utopian, he adds: "I do not mention this as an imagination of what I fancy a mother may do, but as of a thing I have known done, and the Latin tongue got with ease this way." Of course, in what is said both by Locke and Clarke, the intention simply is that everything should be done to prevent disgust with a difficult subject at the outset—that beginners should have every help afforded them—and so the time will be likely all the more speedily to arrive when a real taste and fondness for the study will develop itself and conduct to a life-long appreciation and enjoyment of it. It is curious to note that neither to Locke nor Clarke did the previous question as to the essentiality of initiating every English lad in the Latin language suggest itself, so paramount was the prevailing scholastic tradition on this head.

But to return to "Corderius." Before parting with him I desire to record here a portion of Calvin's dedication, still to be seen at the opening of his "Commentary on the Epistle to the Thessalonians." It is addressed to "Maturinus Corderius, a man of eminent piety and learning, Principal of the College of Lausanne;" and the exordium reads as follows, shorn, however, of its grace by being translated from its original Latin: "It is befitting that you should come in for a share in my labours, inasmuch as, under your auspices, having entered on a course of study, I made proficiency at least so far as to be prepared to profit in some degree the Church of God. When my father," Calvin continues, "sent me, while yet a boy, to Paris, after I had simply tasted the first elements of the Latin tongue, Providence so ordered it that I had for a short time the privilege of having you as my instructor, that I might be taught by you the true method of learning, in such a way that I might be prepared afterwards to make somewhat better proficiency. . . . And it is with good reason that I acknowledge myself indebted to you for such progress as has since been made. And this I was desirous to testify to posterity, that if any advantage shall accrue to them from my writings, they shall know that it has in some degree originated with you."

With this tribute of John Calvin to his old tutor Corderius, we may compare St. Jerome's grateful expressions in regard to his early instructor Donatus, author of the famous Treatise on the Eight Parts of Speech; and Bishop Andrewes' recollection of his former master, Richard Mulcaster, whose portrait the Bishop kept ever hanging before him in his study.

